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Comments on the continuing article by John Henderson continue to arrive, as well as one cancellation (so far the only one). It has clearly touched classical scholars in a sensitive place, and in view of the importance of the topic, thus demonstrated, the Editor proposes to devote the rest of the notes in 'this month's issue of LCM' to a selection from them. He will add a new feature which had been suggested to him some time ago, asking him to follow the example of a greater scholar and Editor, Gildersleeve in the early numbers of *AJP*, and publish what he will call *The Editor's Book Notes*. Readers and subscribers will know that LCM receives a large number of books for review, so that publishers (if not always readers or authors) do appreciate the rapidity and quality of its reviews (perhaps some of them even produce orders). But not all such books can be reviewed rapidly (most especially those the Editor reserves for himself) and some not at all, and so the Editor will make it his practice to note and comment such books as he receives each month: appearance in the notes will not, of course preclude subsequent and more serious review. For two reasons, therefore, this month's notes are likely to be rather longer than normal.

But first to Henderson, and to the most gratifying of the responses, which began '*Macte animis tuis, editor noster.*' and continued: 'Not that I don't agree with Henderson's critics: the best death for this sort of gibberish is indeed its exposure, however, and you do a service to all sides'. Another said that 'one's sorely tempted to turn its own style back on it and call it litter-ature'. Then, to modulate by way of the less-committal — 'On Henderson's piece, no comment; but I won't be cancelling my subscription!' to two more favourable, one short, 'May I also congratulate you on your stand. The world of Classics suffers from a very horrifying death-wish, and the strength of the reaction to Henderson I see as a clear symptom of that.', one similar, 'Oh dear! How sad that the *bourgeois* allowed themselves to be *épatés* by John Henderson, thus giving him the satisfaction of the predicted reader-response. Surely this style isn't meant as communication? It's monologue — "ludic", of course — & entertaining if you like that kind of thing.'

But there is a real issue here, and another subscriber, who sent his thanks for the Editor's willingness to publish Dr Henderson's *hercides* pieces, dealt with it at greater and more serious length.

'Modern literary criticism is still using classical texts to explain problems of 'meaning' and 'interpretation' (esp. Plato), but it seems so sad to me (a professional classics teacher) that students of classical literature are not in the front rank of major literary interpreters in our time. Those who talk of 'standards' in this regard (and doubtless there will be many) should realise that the 'standard' of literary appreciation and interpretation in Classics has been lamentable for generations. It is still tolerable in many quarters to discuss

- 34 tragedy in Bradleian terms or epic in the terms of an outdated aesthetic approach. Small wonder that publishers are losing interest [*but is this true?*]. The potential of the material at the disposal only of those with access to the ancient languages is enormous, not only for current literary theory (and practice, I would add), but also for history, philosophy, politics and other major disciplines. We should, if anything, be taking the lead in these areas, at least making enough of an impression to encourage the acceptance of fluency in reading Greek and Latin and ready familiarity with their literatures as indispensable equipment for the educated mind.'

There was a sting in the tail.

'That said, I must confess I do not know how far Dr Henderson's efforts will achieve this (or Dr Goldhill's for that matter, — when is the promised review of his *Oresteia* to appear in LCM [as soon as the Editor receives it]). I suspect that many who have devoted many years to mastering traditional approaches will be reluctant to see themselves reduced to the same uncomprehending level as their own students. There is obviously a question of personal esteem and of a simple unwillingness to ask basic questions about the whole approach to reading at stake here. If Dr Henderson succeeds in shaking this assured self-confidence a little, he will have achieved more than some of us thought remotely possible. *Per te aude sapere.*'

Well, LCM was very early accused by one who did not (therefore?) become a subscriber, of being too traditional and establishment, but it seems that the Editor has, as his old tutor advised him, followed the example of the Comte de Condé and as he grows older grows bolder (he never reckoned to be able to say with Solon 'γρησίων δ' αἶετ' πολλὰ διδασκόμενος', at least if that means, as again Solon (27W.) growing wiser, on that sympathizing with T.S.Eliot's comment in the *Four Quartets*). Publication of Henderson does seem, as he hoped, to have stimulated a very real and necessary debate about what it is we are doing and how we ought to do it. Let the debate continue.

Meantime different Departments of Classics continue their endeavours to set up as 'Centres of Excellence' in one field or another, and the Editor has been asked to give publicity to the study contract to extend computer-aided research on the Greek dramatists and to investigate applications of the computer in other areas of Greek scholarship recently secured with IBM(UK) Ltd, by the Department of Greek at St Andrews. A research fellowship is to be funded for 2 years, and those interested are invited to consider further study in that Department, and (what is probably of greater concern to readers of LCM) 'with the aim of avoiding wasteful overlap and duplication of effort among Greek scholars aiming at the automation of research and scholarship, colleagues interested in sharing information about past, present and prospective activities are invited to write to E.M.Craik' of that Department.

The Editor is not entirely happy with all the phrasing of that appeal, not least the 'automation of research and scholarship', for despite his addiction to the old Concordances to Homer (critics say that he believes them to be the original form of the poems) he none the less retains greater faith in what was called in the RAF 'Mk I eyeball'. None the less he also agrees that younger scholars (he is himself too old a dog to learn new tricks, at least in that area) would be advised to learn how to take advantage of what computers can do for them (not produce automatic publications, however) as a supplement and not a substitute for reading the texts and thinking about them.

There are, however, weaknesses even in the Mk I eyeball, and he must again conclude these notes with some corrigenda, first to J.W.Rich's review in last month's number. On p.29 a 'parablepsy' conflated two references to M.H.Crawford at the end of the penultimate paragraph: the first reference should be to 'NC, ser.7, 9(1969), 79-84, who argues that the coinage was instituted by the Roman government as a medium for the payment of tribute (see now Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* [1985], 91-7.'. On p.30 by a dittography in the last line but one 'sometimes' supplanted the correct 'themselves', and on p.31 in the second line Lucullus' actions should have been specified as 'in 150'.

And in the account of *The Marbles incident* in LCM 10.12(Dec.1985), 150-152, the events of DAY 24 were omitted. They were:

DAY 24. After several days of bloody street fighting, with much loss of life on both sides and great destruction of property, Piraeus and Athens are in British hands. The removal of the Elgin Marbles from the Hilton to the QE2 has begun. It is now admitted that the Parthenon was demolished by a stray shell. A spokesman expressed deep regret, but, as he remarked, 'it is not the first time this has happened, and they can build it up again'. He added that the virtually total destruction of industry in and around Athens would greatly improve the atmosphere and so help the preservation of the ancient monuments.

It is often stated, most recently by Jochen Bleicken, Christian Meyer, Oswyn Murray, Kurt Raaflaub, Peter Rhodes and Raphael Sealey (see the Bibliography at the end of this note), 1) that the democracy introduced by Kleisthenes was not called *δημοκρατία*, but rather *ἰσονομία*, 2) that the term *demokratia* was not coined until the mid fifth century, and 3) that the Athenians did not adopt the more aggressive and rather dubious word *demokratia* until late in the fifth century.

I am inclined to reject all three statements, and, in addition to Ehrenberg's illuminating discussion of *δήμου κρατούσα χεῖρ* in Aischylos, *Suppliees* 604, I will adduce three further arguments: A) the word *demokratia* was probably not committed to writing before the second half of the fifth century B.C., but it may well have been in common use in political debates as early as the late sixth century. Thus the argument from silence is inconclusive.

B) The most important of all the occurrences of the word *demokratia*, i.e. Antiphon 6.45, is usually passed over in silence.

C) Similarly the meaning and occurrences of the name *Δημοκράτης* have passed un-noticed by the scholars who have studied the history of the term *demokratia*.

re A). I will begin by a short survey of the early history of the term *demokratia*. First, inscriptions: the word *demokratia* appears occasionally in Attic inscriptions, and, if we accept the restoration suggested in the corpus, *δημοκρατία* is in fact attested as early as 447/6 (?) in IG I³.37.49. Inscriptions antedating 450 are so few that possible (rare) attestations are likely to have been altogether lost.

Next, literary prose: we may expect to find the term *demokratia* 1) in oratory, and it is duly attested in the first of all orators, i.e. Antiphon (6.45); 2) in history, and it does occur in Herodotos, the father of history (6.43.3; 131.1; cf. 4.137.2); 3) in moral philosophy, and it is found in one of the oldest preserved fragments of moral philosophy, viz. Demokritos fr.251; 4) in political pamphlets, and in the first of all political pamphlets the author criticizes democracy over and over again (Ps.-Xenophon, *Ath.Pol.* 1.4, 5, 8; 2.20; 3.1, 8, 9, 12). On the other hand, we cannot expect to find the term *demokratia* in literary prose before 430, simply because prose written ca.460-430 is completely lost, and prose antedating 460 hardly existed apart from treatises on natural philosophy, in which, of course, *demokratia* is never attested, either before or after 460.

Thus the relevant literary sources antedating 430 are all poetic, and we cannot expect to find the word *demokratia* in early poetry, since it does not scan. In fact, *dēmokratia* does not easily fit any other metre than the comic iambic trimeter, and, true enough, it is attested in the very first comedy we have preserved, viz. the *Acharnians* by Aristophanes, performed in 425 (at line 618). In tragedy *demokratia* is unattested both before and after 430. Again, for metrical reasons alone, *demokratia* does not occur in lyrics, in elegy and in other forms of early poetry. To sum up, for the history of the term *demokratia* the often-used argument from silence has nothing to recommend it.

re B). Antiphon's speech *For the Choregus* gives us one of the earliest attestations of the term *demokratia*. In §45 the defendant tells us that he was a councillor (in a year round 420) and that he, in the *bouleuterion*, during the first prytany, was entrusted with the offerings *ὑπὲρ τῆς Δημοκρατίας*. This passage shows beyond doubt that *demokratia*, as far back as the sources go, was the Athenians' official designation of their own constitution. We do not know when the Athenians instituted the offerings for *Demokratia*. If the restoration of IG I³.37.49 is correct, it suggests a date before 450. And *δήμου κρατούσα χεῖρ* in Aischylos' *Suppliees* 604 may well bring us back to the 460s. I am not persuaded by the attempts to deny that Aischylos by this phrase refers to the Athenian *demokratia*.

re C). On the contrary, I will adduce a third argument against the prevailing opinion, viz. the history of the name Demokrates, which, like the Antiphon passage, is passed over in silence by historians who discuss the origin of the term *demokratia*. The first known bearer in Athens of the name Demokrates is the father of Lysis, the beautiful boy described by Plato. More important, in 1974 his gravestone was recovered, inscribed on the base with his full name: *Λύσις Δεμοκράτος Αἰξονεύς*. In *Athenian Propertied Families* (p.359) John Davies suggested, in my opinion convincingly, that Lysis' father Demokrates is probably to be identified with the lover of Alcibiades mentioned by Antiphon and Plutarch (Antiphon fr.66 Blass: Plutarch, *Alc.* 3.1). In any case, Lysis' father must have been born around 470, and we can now ask: why did an Athenian citizen, around

36 470, give the name *Demokrates* to his newborn son.

Let me quote the comment stated by John Davies: 'Though it is normally very rash to derive any inference from the significance of a name, there are several other examples from the period 470-60 of names that can hardly be other than politically programmatic (e.g. Themistokles' children and Kimon's sons), and since *Demokrates*' birth should belong in this period the possibility that his name was a sign of his father's political *parti pris* at the time of his birth is not to be dismissed' (pp.359-60). I am inclined to follow John Davies. It is unbelievable that the abstract *Demokratia* developed from the name *Demokrates*. It is unlikely, in fifth-century Athens, that the name and the abstract were completely unconnected. Thus the most plausible explanation seems to be that Lysis' grandfather called his son *Demokrates* because *demokratia* was already a designation of the Athenian constitution accepted by the Athenians themselves.

Apart from the argument from silence, historians often adduce the constitutional debate in Herodotos 3.80-83 as evidence for their view that democracy, before the late fifth century, was called *isonomia* and not *demokratia*. In the speech supporting popular government (80) Otanes praises *isonomia* but has no reference to *demokratia*. According to Herodotos, the debate on the three types of constitution took place in Persia before the accession of Dareios in 522. Herodotos is rather emphatic (6.43) that Otanes did advocate popular rule as he reports.

For the sake of argument, let us trust Herodotos. The inference is that *isonomia* is Herodotos' rendering of a Persian political concept in 522 B.C.. No inference can be made about Athens. But Herodotos has not persuaded modern historians. On the contrary, all scholars believe, in my opinion correctly, that such a debate can never have taken place in Persia in 522, but only reflects the constitutional ideas in Greece in the age of Herodotos. But then the constitutional debate must be taken as evidence for political ideology and terminology in the ages of Herodotos, and not in the age of Kleisthenes. It is inadmissible to remove the debate in place (i.e. from Sousa to Athens) but not in time (i.e. from 522 to ca.430). Thus no inference can be made about Athenian constitutional terminology in the age of Kleisthenes.

Furthermore, when Herodotos returns to Otanes' speech in 6.43 he describes the constitution advocated by Otanes with the verb *δημοκρατεῖσθαι*, and later in the same book (131.1) the constitution introduced by Kleisthenes is explicitly called *δημοκρατία*. Both passages confirm what we know from other sources (Antiphon 6.45; Demokritos fr.251; ?IG I³.37.49; and presumably the name *Demokrates*): as far back as the sources go, *demokratia* was the democrats' own designation of the constitution they favoured.

For the period before ca.470 I suspend judgement, and restrict myself to a note on method. Overlooking the fact that prose, apart from natural philosophy, did not develop until after ca.460, many historians have claimed a late origin not only for *demokratia* but also for such concepts as *homonía*, *eleutheria* etc.. Let me illustrate the dangers of this method by some other examples: it can be used to prove that terms like *trieres*, *thesmothes*, *politeia* and *leitourgia* did not exist before the mid-fifth century B.C..

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JOHN HENDERSON(King's College, Cambridge): *Becoming a heroine (1st): Penelope's Ovid ... continued* 37
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for any (post-documentary) couple to 're-cognize' each other, what is ἀναγνώρισις for the (post-nuptial) polytropic 're-courtship', what is 'love at second sight'? A per-missive post-classical scholiast's answer 1ST: the Mol(1)ylogue finale 'begins and ends with the female word yes ... it seems to me to be perfectly sane a-moral fertilisable untrustworthy engaging shrewd limited prudent indifferent *Weib*' (JJ in R.Ellman 516). A per-missive post-classical scholiast's answer 2ND: ἡ δὲ 'Οδύσσεια πεπλεγμένον (ἀναγνώρισις γὰρ διόλου) καὶ ἡθική (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459 b14-15: no less a scholiast of the O.E.D.yyssey than Ovid, Joyce, Kennedy or Henderson — or Richardson who wishes otherwise). These views replicated each other, Obviousy, Obdurysey, Enviousy. Envoici.

Painelope has her ἀρετή, her 'impassivity', 'passive on Ithaca' (W.G.Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry*. Johns Hopkins 1984, 212 n.25), she 'defines the heroic identity of Odysseus' (G.Nagy, *The best of the Achaeans*, Johns Hopkins 1979, 38), this is her 'gemellité' with Odysseus (H.Mon-sacré, *Les Larmes d'Achille*, Paris 1984, 127): 'She alone is a match for Odysseus in cleverness' (P.W.Harsh, *AJP* 71[1950], 4), re-turn to Ifaka is 'their mutual recognition of like-mindedness' (H.Foley in J.Peradotto & J.P.Sullivan, edd., *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers*, SUNY 1984, 69, cp. 71 'At Ithaca the like-mindedness of O. and P. is continually recreated through the long recognition process ...'). It becomes perlucid that Home-r consists of a problematic of re-turn, re-cognition, re-union relayed through our reading: an effort to un-wrap the Parcelope, face to face with the circulatory mutual implication of anagnorisis with reading, overtaking, understanding (ἀναγινώσκω, noesis, nous, nostos, cp. G.Nagy, *Arethusa* 16[1983], 35f.). Ouroboros -NELO-PE-.

Epitrope: 'The letter is a pure instrument of revelation and discovery, so that the act of reading in epistolary fiction often corresponds to the classical moment of recognition (Aristotle's anagnorisis), be it through a rereading of one's own letters or a close scrutiny of the letters of others ... The moment of reading is a moment of anagnorisis or discovery, the tendency of epistolary decoders to pore over specific words and shape new letters around quotations from old ones, the presence of dominating reader figures who excel in the art of explication de texte ...' (Alderman 92, Olderman 99).

Perikope: 'If recognition is a form of blindness, a form of violence to the otherness of the object ...' (Johnson 137, 'The theoretical frame of reference which governs recognition is a constitutive element in the blindness of any interpretive insight. That frame of reference allows the analyst to frame the author of the text he is reading for practices whose locus is simultaneously beyond the letter of the text and behind the vision of its reader').

Anagnorisis, then, is a term caught in 'the inherent instability of re-turn': 'one more 'turn' or -trope added to a series of earlier reversals will not stop the turn towards error' (A.L.T.Bergren, 'Odyssean Temp-orality: many (re)turns', in C.A.Rubino & C.W.Shelmerdine, edd., *Approaches to Homer*, Austin 1983, 59, 83, passim). Noustos, Homercoming, 'is arrival and not residence' (Beye 96), 'Elle arrive ailleurs, toujours plusieurs fois. Tu ne peux plus la prendre ...' Iso-tropy, Post-Cartesian Panoply.

Pennyworth. If Homer turns his poem on the telos of 'full union ... marital happiness: homophrosynē, the union of hearts and minds ... enacted in the marriage bed' (Redfield 196f., cp. Austin 181, 203f.) ... then 'What P says is perfectly intelligible to O. The homophrosyne between the two has reached a remarkable level of cognizance ... O and P converse as man and wife ... Their language is one of private cryptograms' (Austin 231) ... Pamelope, Shamelope. 'Pushed to its logical extreme, epistolary discourse would be so relative to its I-you that it would be unintelligible to an outside reader.' (Altman 120). 'Literature has no outside' ...

Pawnelope. I think we can perceive a pervasive dream of perfect union of reader with written here: 'In the roles of O and P, we have another case of polar opposites, each of which is incomplete without the other but which together create a whole' (Thalmann 170). Pernicious dream, Pennyless, the 'Dream of total union with the loved being' (Barthes, *Lover's Discourse*, 226f.: instead, 'desire is to lack what one has — and to give what one does not have: a matter of supplements, not complements', *ibid.* ?). Pennytence, 'the silent interlocutress of

38 all apostrophes, the intelligible address from which all love letters return to sender. Woman's place is to be out of place ... A lover's discourse can only really flourish in the absence of the woman, whatever name one calls that absence, be it 'death' ... truth or beauty, silence, mystery, pride, indifference, or virginity. Discourse is the process by which woman is erased, blanché out' (M.Ellmann, *Blanche* 100). Penny Blank? Penelephant:

'Mais Pénélope est une femme solide ...' (A.-F.Sabot, *ANRW* II 31 4[1981], 2579): 'Fidélité inébranlable, jalousie, inquiétude, la peur que son mari ne la reconnaisse plus ...' (idid. 2592) ... Purenelope, Pornelope. Which of us scholiasts can frank the stamp of her character? Who hears the timbre of her voice? 'Can there truly be any doubt that Penelope does not recognize her husband in book 19?' (R.A.Prier, *QUCC* 29[1978], 95 n.2). The US scholiasts' penchant for 'the hypothesis of the "intuitive Penelope"' is a perspective from which recognition in the penultimate book can be seen as postpaid closure to a drawn-out process (C.Emlyn Jones, 'The reunion of P & O', *G&R* 31[1984], 2, bibliography on 15 n.7, cp. Marquardt 41 n.10, Austin 206. Some ancient scholia in Richardson 225f., including Arsitotle, though he wishes otherwise): Pretty Penny purrs through to Ψ, 'halfway to such realization, even though she does not know it' (P.Vivante, *Homer*, Yale 1985, 127 — and Vivante 'knows'?). In for a Penny ... The seal of approval is persistently granted to Homer's Calliope: 'Homer showed great insight by portraying simultaneously her [P's] unwillingness to lose autonomy and her desire to resume the conventional role of a Greek housewife' (M. Lefkowitz, *Heroines and Hysterics*, Duckworth 1981, 44).

Ovid's reading of the Odioussey gives us a Bad Penny: "She writes with the petty jealousy of a conventional wife ..." ... it is precisely Ovid's ability to present Penelope stripped of her *persona* which permits him to draw a really true picture of a woman in distress and thereby to place the stamp of originality on his poem' (A.R.Baca, *TAPhA* 100[1969], 6, quoting Sellar). Penny Black, who was pally with Pan, slept with all the suitors and lost count, Superwhore, is beyond even the penumbra of Ovid's pentameters (Jacobson 246f., Mactoux 219f.): 'Here is a different world, a different Penelope: complaints, utterance of self-pity, ungracious allegations all issue from her mouth with consistent regularity ... nothing short of a sex-starved, sex-obsessed woman' (Jacobson 250, 273; cp. Homer's 'sexually frustrated woman who is attempting to justify her innermost "thoughts, temptations, and wishes, though not her deliberate actions"' (Marquardt 46, quoting Devereux).

Perhaps the price of 'writing' an epictolatory 'PSychodrama' for our heroine, 'who, in her stressful vision and imagination, interprets reality in a highly subjective — if not neurotic fashion (Baca 5, 'Penelope is not neurotic'), is that 'writing' is 'a way of bewailing' (her) 'plight, luxuriating in self-pity, detailing on paper and even enjoying the heightened awareness which comes from suffering ...' (Perky 94)? Before we penetrate the Pennytralia on the 'thought letter' (Baca's term, 5), to find our 'scene of writing' in pop Psychology on Ithyphallika, let's consider another production in 'writing' of a peral-loined odalisque in purdah, the chapter of Molly Bloom: "The 40 pages of non stop run in the end is a strong of veritable psychological peaches. I suppose the devil's grandmother knows so much about the real psychology of a woman, I didn't", 'the magical record of inmost thought by a woman that existed' (Jung, in a letter ..., Arnold Bennett in M.Ellmann in McCabe, ed., 135, from R.Ellmann 642). 'The unsurpassable expression of the woman, an imaginary of the female "flesh-without-word", the other who is assigned to that otherness, flesh, mystery, the inexpressible outside of the law and speech of men, and is then asked to confirm, magically to say her reality as that ...

The position of the expression of the woman at the close of the book, the over-eager chorus of male praises for its brilliance of understanding and the determined insistence on its universality are indicative ...' (M.Ellmann *ibid.*). With suitably pursed lips, subpoena that far from sub-missive literary construct, the unreconstructed, post-connubial Noral Barnacle: 'But Nora said of her husband, "He knows nothing at all about women" (Ellmanns locc.citt.). Penury, Perjury, the père-loined letters of Pun-elope.

Apokop-, Aposiope-: 'I'd like to begin my reading of Ov- ...'. Plop-Penelope, Pencilope, Pentelope, Paintelope, Printelope. FACTA VIDEBOR ANUS (see figure of figure 2 on next page): 'At l-ast it scans', thinks pert Pensionope, 'to the last penatmeter'.

The invitation which post-modern-1ST criticism offers for 'Reading (Absent)

Character' is the move in the conception of 'character', 'psychology', 'subject- 39
ivity' 'from Description to "Position"', away from the hypocrisy ('Bad Faith')
of registering 'insight', 'understanding', 'penetration' and into the offering
of a circulatory positionality for the reader/writer, away from the re-presenta-
tion of cultural stereotypes and their prejudiced foreclosure and onto the meta-
phoricity of language-in-the-absence-of-the-Father, the deferred, infinitely-
divisible, relay of the Letter, Writing as Difference (T.Docherty, *Reading (Ab-
sent) Character*, OUP 1983, chapter 1).

The Lover suffers 'The Uncertainty of Signs'. Embedded in the Otiossey, 'se-
cret enclosing secret enclosing secret' (Austin 237), is the Master-Sign, the bed-
post of anagnorisis: agreeable to the dreamers of 'full union' to find that if P
& O can read 'The Sign of the Bed', their homophrosyne excludes us from its riddle
(Clear from but not recognized by O'Sullivan, *GRBS* 25[1984], 21f.). Is it Arist-
otle's fault if all the Outiszeuses of Homeric criticism are satisfied for the
couple to 're-cognize' themselves as the perfect pair P & O? If we are to play
this Lover's Discourse, then: 'Whether he seeks to prove his love, or to discover
if the other loves him, the amorous subject has no sure system of signs at his
disposal ... I look for signs, but of what? ...' (Barthes, *Lover's Discourse* 214).
'It is not true that the more you love, the better you understand; all that the
action of love obtains from me is merely this wisdom: that the other is not to
be known; his opacity is not the screen around a secret, but, instead, a kind of
evidence in which the game of reality and appearance is done away with. I am then
seized with that exultation of loving someone unknown, someone who will remain so
forever: a mystic impulse: I know that I do not know' (ibid.135, 'The Unknowable').
Over the blank 'woman's place', as we've seen, the Lover's Discourse mrs. out both
the Otherness of Woman as the other and the supplemental role assigned to 'her'
by its workings, the relay by which she is invoked to complete the species, but
in completing it, undoes and figures the undoing of it, the circulatory position
of the woman-letter, Writing as/and (Sexual) Difference (see J.Gallop in McConnell-
Ginet etc. etc. 274f. 'Snatches of Con-versation' and *Fem. & Psych.* 49f.). The
re-cognition that love is a matter of re-cognition is demanded by the post-
connubial posteriority of the Odourssey's 'love at second sight'. Pen-Friend,
Penelope.

Pimpernelope. The woman-letter is on display: 'She can mean different things
to different people' (In Hester Prynne's case in Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*,
the letter A she wears stands for differential relay ... for adultery, able, angel,
artist, America ... Antelope ... cp. T.Tanner, *City of Words*, Cape 1976 (1971),
23f., J.T.Irwin, *American Hieroglyphics*, Yale 1980, 239f.). She is the 'Scarletter'
awaiting our recognition that she understands the self-unravelling logic of our

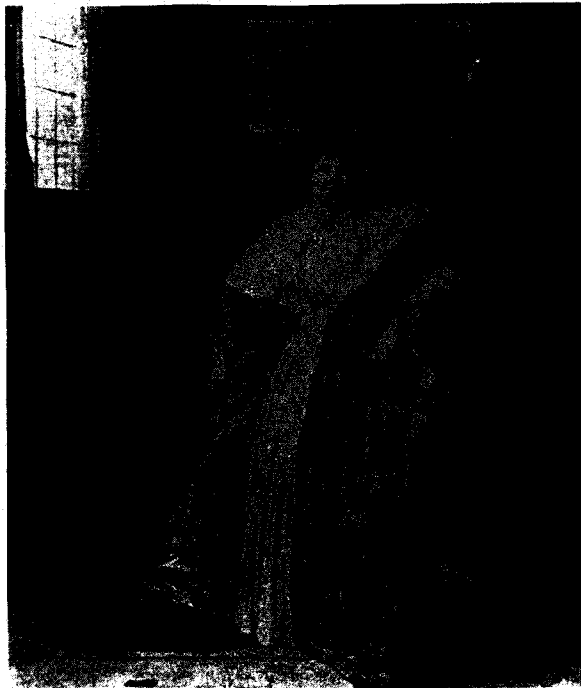


Figure 2

Capacious Dutch Interior.

Post-prandial cardiac.

Purple Cenope

- 40 attempt to penetrate her subjectivity (M.Ellmann in MacCabe, ed., *JJ* 81). 'Having the idea of becoming a heroine is a mode of self-awareness' (Brownstein xxf.), And so to ... sneak purview of voyeurism (Fuga 3, 'Vermeer', she writes, 'I lo-...').



Figure 3

Posterior Analytics
(After Voyeurmeer):

peeping, creeping, prying,
spying, surprising, uprising,

Parthenope

'We are' not 'reading the letter, or, to be more accurate, we are' not 'peeking over the woman's shoulder as she is writing it' (Anderson, quoted by you on 416). Peypising, peering, poring, pawing, poking, probing, proving Penelope? A rival for U.? Another suture? Impostor! 'She is unlike all other women, being important and unique, but she is also quintessentially feminine, therefore rightly representative of her sex. A paragon of paradoxes, she is both chaste and suggestive of erotic ecstasy, famous and private, embowered and imperiled' (Brownstein xxi). Parergonope, Purloinope.

A penny for your thoughts,

John (Henderson)

♀ Fair 'namelessness enables women to circulate between the names and properties of men' (M.Ellmann, *Blanche* 105). So, PSope.
-PPSt-coda. Yes, she knew all along it was O. She had her letter folded away in her cleavage when she and U. went to sleep after all that lying in bed, ready for him to find. The letter is her cleavage, brisure, 'splitting' and 'joining in an embrace' (M.Ellmann in Young, ed., 192, cf, 18). Y-e-
Figure 1 'Die trauende Penelope': in marble relief ((c) below, ?c.450 bce?; from Roscher 3, 1912), marble sculpture from Persepolis ((b), *LCM* 1.11 [Jan. 1986], 8: 331+ bce; from Lawrence, *G&R Sculpture*, pl.27b); red-figure vase ((d); from Roscher 3, 1914. Composition with Telexachus and web); various Roman marble copies

(c)



(d)



STURT W.MANNING(Australian National University): *The identification of a possible Late Minoan IB site at Kommos, Crete?* 41

I express my thanks to Leonie Brown for reading a draft of this paper.

The excavation of the Minoan town of Kommos on the south coast of Crete has been the subject of extensive preliminary reports¹. In these reports the suggestion has been made that, unlike all other Minoan sites, Kommos did not suffer Late Minoan IB (LMIB) damage, dislocation, or destruction (e.g. *Hesperia* 51[1982], 192). Instead it is said that habitation of Kommos continued uninterrupted from the Middle Minoan III period until Late Minoan III (LMIII) times².

This position derives from the occurrence at Kommos of (1) Late Minoan II (LMII) pottery, and (2) a series of LMI through to LMIII levels³. However, LMII pottery is no longer a rare class found only at Knossos (which was not destroyed during LMIB), because LMII pottery has not been identified at many sites with LMIB destruction levels (Popham M.R., *BSA* 75[1980], 163-7). Thus the history of Kommos need not be similar to that of Knossos; although even then it is pertinent to note that the extent of LMIB damage at Knossos is often underestimated⁴. Moreover, the recent excavations at Knossos (Warren, *AR* cited in n.4), and at Chania: Kastelli⁵, show that the existence of all Minoan pottery phases at a site does not exclude an LMIB destruction.

Therefore the question of an LMIB destruction centres only on the evidence of a site from that period. In the case of Kommos this is made more difficult because the continued occupation has left few LMI remains (*Hesperia* 48[1979], 170). However, the following evidence can be found in the preliminary reports.

(a) Mention of a burnt layer with LMIB material in Space 11 (*Hesperia* 46[1977], 212, which Shaw says could result from the area being converted into one for cooking or '... a general burning of the building' (ibid., 214).

(b) Room 17 was not occupied after LMI (*Hesperia* 47[1978], 118).

(c) Several rooms in building F were last used in the LMI/II period (ibid., 148).

(d) The presence of a large LMI-II dump⁶ which consists of dark earth with

1. Shaw J.W., *Hesperia* 53(1984), 251-287, 252 n.2 for previous bibliography, fig.1 for site plan. Shaw's reports are hereafter only referred to by *Hesperia* reference.

2. *Hesperia* 46(1977), 239; 50(1981), 222 and 245; 53(1984), 286; Watrous L.V., *AJA* 85(1981), 75-77 at 76.

3. e.g. *Hesperia* 50(1981), 245 n.105; 53(1984), 286.

4. As Warren P.M., *Nature* 304(1983), 469, has recently had to point out. A collection of LMIB Knossos damage includes: (a) a substantial building — with debris of an ivory workshop — destroyed in LMIB (*AR* 1960-61, 26); (b) the presence of ash and charcoal with LMIB pottery in an apparent destruction level in near the Royal Road (*AR* 1961-62, 26); (c) a burnt LMIB destruction level in the area of the Room of the Children's bones (*AR* 26[1979-80], 49; Warren P.M., *AR* 27[1980-81], 73-92 at 75 & 80f.); and (d) the South House on the edge of the Palace was apparently destroyed in LMIB (Popham M.R., *BSA* 62[1967], 341 n.14).

5. e.g. *AR* 29(1982-83), 60; Kanta A., *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete*, *SIMA* 58, Göteborg 1980, 217-218 and references.

6. *Hesperia* 46(1977), 231-2 & 239; 47(1978), 120-125 & 165-170.

- 42 burnt debris (ibid, n.6, 125 & 165). The level above the dump is LMIIIA1/2, which suggests that this LMIII activity followed and used a burnt and damaged LMI/II level.
- (e) Another dump with some 18,600 LMI sherds (*Hesperia* 48[1979], 160). Again this dump is overlain by an LMIII level.
- (f) the original ashlar blocks of the southern wall of Building J were 'very burnt' (*Hesperia* 48[1980], 242). Now, as the latest pottery above the original floor is LMI — including Reed Painter style (ibid. n.6, 242 n.80) — this fire is late LMI (i.e. IB). The building was then abandoned after this fire, or earthquake (*Hesperia* 53[1984], 272), before LMIII rebuilding over the earlier fill.
- (g) Corridor 7 and the areas immediately east of Building J were abandoned for some time after the LMI period (*Hesperia* 50[1981], 222). The fill is LMI mixed with large blocks fallen from the walls (ibid.). This could indicate late LMI earthquake, manmade, or nearby fire damage.
- (h) The North house has an LMI dump in the remains of an LMIA constructed house (*Hesperia* 51[1982], 166).
- (i) Building T contains several signs of an LMI/IB destruction.
- (1) The building itself collapsed and was abandoned at the end of the LMI period with the north wall visibly bowed out to the north as a result (*Hesperia* 53[1984], 264).
- (2) Room 21 had numerous pieces of charcoal in its fill which '... could have come from the upper walls or ceiling or roof of the room' (ibid.). This suggests the walls and ceilings had been burnt at the end of LMI.
- (3) Room 19 had tumbled blocks and a thick fill with carbon and burnt sherds (ibid., 265).
- (4) Room 16 had patches of burning on its LMI floor, though these may have resulted from bronze working (*Hesperia* 51[1982], 183, & 53[1984], 273).
- Thus, as LMIB sherds have been found in this LMI destruction deposit (*Hesperia* 53[1984], 274 n.37), and as other pottery from building T is also burnt (ibid., 265 & 268), an LMIB fire destruction⁷ is a possible explanation.
- (k) A burnt surface of an LMI level south of Building N (ibid., 277 n.45). This list is not intended to be a catalogue or a proof, but it does suggest that the history of Kommos included (1) late LMI damage including burning, (2) subsequent abandonment in several places, and (3) later LMIII rebuilding and re-occupation. This is a similar pattern to that of many other Minoan sites⁸. Moreover, the damage to the large Buildings J and T but not the houses is paralleled at Pyrgos, where the country house was burnt in LMIB while the nearby houses were merely abandoned (Cadogan G., *AR* 24[1977-78], 70-80 at 80-81). Thus, unless Kommos had a history very different from that of other Minoan sites⁹, one wonders if evidence of LMIB damage, dislocation, or destruction is only waiting to be identified.
7. And/or earthquake (*Hesperia* 51[1982], 182; 53[1984], 272). Though another explanation of unusually thick or buttressed walls (*Hesperia* 51[1982], 182) is defence.
8. Cf. Malia for instance, where the town and palace suffered an LMIB destruction. The palace was then abandoned like the monumental Buildings J and T at Kommos. But the town of Malia, like that of Kommos, remained inhabited into the LMII (Popham, *BSA* 75[1980], 160 for bibliography) and LMIII periods (Kanta, op.cit. in n.5, 50f.).
9. Shaw suggests that Kommos may have been spared by the Mycenaeans as '... a handy outlet to the sea and as a local centre of power' (*Hesperia* 50[1981], 245). But the destruction and abandonment of the large seaside buildings J and T refutes this.

Well into the dinner with Trimalchio, just before Encolpius reports his vision beginning to swim, a pastry Priapus is brought out (probably representing only his chief attribute), surrounded with cakes and fruit, which however spurts out saffron when touched. The guests interpret the saffron according to its religious meaning, assume the dish is sacred, and all cry *Augusto, patri patriae, feliciter* (60.7). The Priapic phallus becomes an embodiment of the Augustus, giving a new meaning to the title 'father of his country'.

Who is this Augustus? We need not assume, as most commentators do, that it must be the first holder of that title. *Augustus* quickly becomes a standard part of the imperial nomenclature, as (to almost the same extent) does the title *pater patriae*. Martin Smith, in his edition of the *Cena Trimalchionis* (Oxford 1975), in a rather confusing note (p.161) seems to suggest that Tiberius may be the *Augustus* here referred to, but in fact he seems not to have held the title *pater patriae*. We therefore need an emperor who held both titles. Our two likeliest choices are the original Augustus and the current holder of the title, i.e. Nero (I accept the view of K.F.C. Rose in *The Date and Author of the Satyricon* [Leiden 1971] that the author of our novel is the Neronian arbiter of elegance).

Dio 51.19.7 records that in 30 B.C. the practice of pouring a libation to Augustus at all banquets, public and private, was decreed. This fact, along with a reference to honouring Augustus as a god in Horace *Odes* 4.5.31-32, is often cited (e.g. by Smith 1975) as the source for this little scene. There are problems with this notion. First, there is no libation recorded in Petronius, only the cry. Second, if we accept a Neronian date for the *Satyricon*, one wonders if a custom instituted at Rome almost a century before would still be honoured in the provinces. Would it not be rather like drinking a toast to Queen Victoria today? Third, in Horace we see a small farmer working his vineyard and offering thanks to Augustus for peace (the ode was probably written in 13 B.C.). There is no reason to suppose that this man is observing on his farm a custom decreed for banquets seventeen years before. Neither Dio nor Horace, then, offer a precedent for this farcical scene, provoked by a drunken misinterpretation.

Could this Augustus be Nero? Nero held this title from the beginning of his reign; see the comments of K.R. Bradley in his commentary on Suetonius' *Life of Nero* (Brussels 1978, pp.64-65) on the grant of honours recorded in Suetonius *Nero* 8. Could Nero also be *pater patriae*? Suetonius (loc. cit.) records his specific refusal of this title on his accession *propter aetatem*, but in fact it appears on his coinage of A.D.55 (Bradley 1978.66; E.M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero* [Cambridge 1967], p.46 no.109 — the citation of this coin in Bradley is incorrect). Nero would thus seem the preferable candidate for this *Augustus*.

If the guests intend to salute Nero, in what spirit would the emperor take this salute? I beg for the moment the question of whether Nero and the court were the intended audience of the *Satyricon*. Even if they were not, Petronius would have to consider the emperor's reaction if the *Satyricon* were to come to his attention. It might seem *lèse majesté*, or it might seem flattering. Consider for a modern equivalent Joe Orton's *What the Butler Saw*, where the climax of the play is the recovery of the same missing part from an exploded statue of Winston Churchill. Orton and his producers worried about whether they could be prosecuted for this reference to the body politic, but Orton insisted the reference was not libellous but possibly complimentary (see the extracts from Orton's diaries quoted in the introduction to the Methuen edition of his *Complete Plays*). In fact for various reasons a bowdlerized text was played at first, and Orton's original ending only restored in the 1975 Royal Court production.

On balance, one is inclined to believe Nero would be flattered if he saw himself in this passage. Less certain is whether he was meant to see one more implication of the end of this scene. Despite the saffron, certain guests scramble for the dainties, Encolpius in particular, *qui nullo satis amplo munere putabam me onerare Gitonis sinum* (60.7). Beneath the shadow of this scene's central image, Encolpius' gifts become a sublimation of that with which he would most prefer *onerare Gitonis sinum*. If we map this desire on to the figure of the emperor here evoked, we have a startlingly different notion of the emperor's relationship to his people that that usually embodied in the image of the *pater patriae*.

'Les latinistes manquent souvent de culture historique et considèrent l'épigraphie comme une science de spécialistes' (R.Chevallier, *Épigraphie et Littérature à Rome*, Faenza 1972, 7). Thus, while the stylistic and thematic impact of Virgil upon inscriptions, notably funerary, continues, as it deserves, to attract attention (some recent bibliography collected, *Atti del Convegno ... di studi su Virgilio* (Manotva, Roman, Napoli 1981), Milano 1984, 60f.), the impact upon Virgil of the manner and language of the inscriptions he will himself have known is almost, though not completely, neglected.

Eduard Fraenkel (*Kl.Schr.* 2.140f. = *Glotta* 33[1954], 158) drew attention to the three asyndetic cola of A.4.655f. in the manner of archaic elogia; perhaps less persuasively, R.Merkelbach (*Lemmata ... W.Ehlers*, München 1968, 174f. = *RhM* 114[1971], 349f.) links the opening words of Virgil's lament on Caieta (7.1ff.) *tu quoque litoribus nostris* with the *tu quoque ...* of literary epitaphs upon distinguished predecessors (Cicero poet.fr.2, Caesar poet.fr.1, Domitius Marsus 7 Büchner). Virgil's *quoque* links Caieta to Misenus and Palinurus (6.232ff., 377ff.), or perhaps even points, like the *tibicen* 6.901, to textual dislocation or worse between the books. The *quoque* of Cicero, Caesar and Domitius Marsus, on the other hand, places the deceased poet in a literary sequence, an essentially different function. The *Du-rede* of 7.1 (and the literary inscriptions; in Virgil, cf. too 2.429, 3.710, 9.446, 10.390, 11.97, 12.542), though amply attested in Roman funerary inscriptions, has literary and psychological origins of infinite complexity, attested as far back as Homer (*W.St.* 27[1905], 106ff.; L.Koenen, *ZPE* 5[1970], 245ff.). The ambiguity expressed in 7.4 *si qua est ea gloria* (cf. 12.493) is likewise very widely attested in epigraphic texts, both Greek and Roman, but is by no means exclusively or decisively identifiable as inscriptional (see conveniently Ogilvie's good note on Tacitus, *Agr.* 46.1).

But Virgil's indebtedness to the literary inscription, though little enough recognized (see *Anc.Soc.*(Macquarie) 10.1[1980], 20ff., on the influence of Varro's *Imagines* on Virgil), is not in question; rather, it is his relationship to the inscriptions he is likely to have known by autopsy, primarily, that merits fuller examination. Though Virgil's capacity for observation has been generally exaggerated, it should emerge that he did not escape the influence of the huge mass of epigraphic material, the '*littérature de rue*' (Susini's development of a phrase of G.Sanders', *Epigrafia Romana*, Roma 1982, 20). numerous other authors clearly took in what they read in passing (A.Stein, *Röm. Inschriften i.d. ant. Literatur*, Prag 1931; Chevallier, *Épigraphie ...*, 1972, 11ff.).

Influence is limited by the idiom and metre of the Augustan epic, and little enough pre-Augustan epitaphic poetry survives for comparison; we have also always to bear in mind the equally weighty influence of the Homeric hero, dead or about to die (B.Fenik, *Typical Battle-scenes in the Iliad* [*Hermes Einzelschr.* 21], 1968, 149ff.; see M.B.Ogle, *MAAR* 11[1933], 84f. on the passage of the Homeric sleep of death through Virgil [7.598, 10.745f., 12.309f.] and other literary texts into CE), and of the presentation of the death of great men in historiography, rightly suspected, for example, by Roland Austin in his note on Priam's death, A.2.544ff..

The Virgilian hero shares in the virtues and values of a Scipio; affinities between the elogia and (e.g.) 10.468f. *sed famam extendere factis hoc virtutis opus*, 12.439f. *te animo repetentem exempla tuorum et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector* and 12.649 *magnum haud unquam indignus avorum* are evident and unsurprising (cf. some remarks in *Prudentia* 8[1976], 83). Perhaps note too Galaesus, *iustissimus unus* in the idiom of *hunc oino ... optumo ... viro* (Barbatus).

I offer some further examples of idiom of arguably epigraphic origin and do not doubt that the list might be extended:

11.57f. *quantum praesidium Ausonia, et quantum tu perdidis, Iule*: cf. *CIL* 1². 1422 *parentibus praesidium*; Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace *Carm.* 1.1.2 miss the possibility of this 'unpoetic' word deriving from the epigraphic idiom.

Buc.4.7 *florentes aetatibus* (not of course posthumous); cf. CIL 1².1603 = CE 45 362.4 *sed cum te decuit florenti aetate*. The *liquisti* of the inscription's next line may be compared with Aeneas' *deseris* of Anchises (A.3.711; cf. too CEG 95.2 Hansen).

A.11.43 *invidit fortuna mihi*; cf. CIL 1².1837 = CE 54.3 *inveidit deus* (a parallel for a common idiom noted by Stiewe, TLL s.v. 194.70); the situation of Evander, predeceased by his son, is familiar in epitaphs; note 11.159 *felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem* with, for a start, the passages collected at CE 178.

12.648 *sancta anima* is also clearly in the epigraphic idiom, as passages such as CIL 623740 and (with my note in ZPE) CIL 6.37965.10, not influenced by the *Aeneid*, strongly suggest. But to avoid the weakness that this possibility might lend to the argument, I have elsewhere only cited pre-Virgilian examples, in an idiom that the poet could himself have seen.

The possibility that the Virgilian passages cited are in fact influenced by an idiom visually familiar to the poet has consistently escaped the notice of the Virgilian commentators, a race notably deserving of Chevallier's condemnation.

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The Princeton University Press has been publishing some beautifully produced books, and bids fair to rival the CUP for the excellence of their books as objects. The Editor approves their statement that 'clothbound editions ... are printed on acid-free paper, and binding materials are chosen for strength and durability. Paperbacks, although satisfactory for personal collections, are not usually suitable for library rebinding' (!!). But he wishes that the notice to the 'Dear Book Reviewer' sent with each book included the title and the ISBN as well as the date of publication and the price.

On two of those recently received he can make only a few comments. He notes with interest and gratification that himself appears cited in Philip P. Betancourt, *The history of Minoan pottery*, Princeton UP 1985, pp.xxiv + 226, cloth £40.90, pbk £11.60, ISBN 0-691-03572-2 & 0-691-10168-x (pbk), both in the bibliography and on p.183, for discussion of the typology of octopus vases. The book illustrates some new to him, notably fig.133 on p.188 and B on pl.30, which has turned into a tree. He is encouraged in his hope one day to up-date the study. The list of museum numbers on pp.213-8 will assist (though ordered by museum number and not that of figure or plate), though the many unnumbered pieces are in the second index under specific sites. It is a book to grudge the reviewer to whom he will send it.

Equally well-produced is Sarantis Symeonoglou, *The topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to modern times*, Princeton UP 1985, pp.xxii + 334 (the plates and map B at are unpaginated at the end), cloth £43.00, ISBN 0-691-03576-8, and in its way a similar 'handbook'. The author places more faith in Theban legends, and in legends generally, as a source of genuine historical information, than would the Editor: p.64 'Few would doubt that a conflict between Troy and Mycenae took place, remembered as the Trojan War; the palaces, royal burials, and fortifications of the two rival cities of Troy and Mycenae have been excavated'. A *non sequitur* is at least suggested, and if it be true that only 'few would doubt', the Editor is happy to be of their number, and thinks that he may not be alone (see the recent Greenbank Colloquium on the subject).

The third book, Michael Herzfeld, *The poetics of manhood*, Princeton UP 1985, pp.xx + 314, cloth £26.90, ISBN 0-691-09410-1, is also pleasantly produced, though it is in a different class from the other two. It is a highly professional ethnographic study of a Cretan mountain village (the sub-title is *Contest and identity in a Cretan mountain village*), the professionalism displayed in the categorization and analysis of behaviour, in the bibliography, and even in the title, which seems to derive from semiotics (p.16, also p.xii in the important *Preface*, which emphasizes the importance of *simasia*). The Editor and readers of LCM may be more interested in the degree to which this professional approach is borne out by, and illuminates, their own rather different experience of Greece and Crete.

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Greece (or should we learn to call it Hellas or the Hellenic Republic) has perhaps long suffered from phil-Hellenes and from a kind of cultural colonialism: Western European scholars long claimed superiority in the understanding of the ancient literature and in archaeological expertise, and now it may be the turn of the anthropologists. Fortunately there are signs that the Greeks know how to protect themselves: some of the photographs in this book induced in the Editor the unworthy suspicion that the subjects may just conceivably have been taking the mickey: note the man in check trousers in pl.15, p.(150), though he was being photographed by the author's wife; again, attention is drawn in the delicious 'front room' illustrated in pl.16, p.(151) to the shepherd's bag on the wall, but not to the print of a Canadian landscape nor to the Minoan prince (in triplicate), which say at least as much about its owners: the little statuette on the occasional table I cannot identify. 'Modern Greek presents notorious transliterational problems' (p.xix), and the author's solution does the same for those like the Editor who would be happier with the Greek alphabet, which would enable them easily to recognize *sindeknia* (glossed in the index as 'spiritual kinship through baptism') as συντεκνία — the godparent as 'sharing children' with the natural — and *ema* as αἷμα (p.77 and index). Twice in a μαντινάδα on p.143 we find *meli* rhyming, once as μέλλει and then as μέλι: the translation helps, and presumably the author is concerned to preserve the oral character of the language, but the transliteration will mean nothing to those with no knowledge of it and confuses those with some.

On two books sent by other publishers the Editor has more to say, without, he hopes, prejudice to the reviewers who will receive them, and on two others, less.

W.Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek state at war, Part IV*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1985, pp.x + 278, ISBN 0-520-02758-2 (v.1), is also in its way an handbook, methodically setting out the evidence and its treatment by scholars for *The pitched battle* from Homer to Polybius and for *Burial of the Greek dead*. But what he does not always do is consider the details. The Editor was surprised to find no detailed analysis of Thucydides 5.71-73, Mantinea in 418 (καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη τοιαύτη καὶ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων ἐγένετο, πλείστου δὲ χρόνου μεγίστη δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀξιολογωτάτων πόλεων ξυνελθοῦσα, 74.1), with its clear statement of a weakness in the hoplite phalanx: τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἅπαντα τοῦτο, 71.1; all move to the right to protect the unguarded side of the right hand man from being outflanked, which movement is taken up all along the line as each man successively closes the gap for the same reason. Thucydides calls this man ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, 71.1, which K. cites p.87 among a number of passages in which he says the plural 'is used to designate the front-rank men'. No doubt: but here, as qualified, it means the right marker of the front rank, who was doubtless followed by his file.

The cause of this manoeuvre is the hoplite shield. K. does not seem to believe in a specific 'hoplite revolution' in warfare, and does not distinguish between the hoplite phalanx and any body of men with shields supporting one another and fighting in ranks. But the hoplite shield is too big for one man, and is designed to protect two, the man himself and the right hand side of the man on his left. It is not easily manoeuvred, like the Homeric round shield (*I.7.238*, Hector: οἷδ' ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, οἷδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ κωμῆσαι βῶν) or the 'target' shown on the clay models of 'targets' from Tiryns. It therefore implies, as the round, or any other shield, need not, a body of men supporting one another in line. But the hoplite formation need not imply the creation of a whole hoplite phalanx at one time: the advantages of the formation (additional weight, mutual protection) can be felt in a smaller body, perhaps originally of kin, each of whom can trust the other. For it is the joins between constituent formations, local (tribal) or national, which are the weak point of the phalanx, and where it may break.

The hoplite has to use his spear as a stabbing spear, as in so many representations (and it is a pity that K. is not illustrated), and normally stabs down, aiming at the weak point in his opponent, the gap between helmet and thorax (incidentally where Hector is hit in his death-wound [*I.22.327-9*], but that is for literary reasons). He can, if sharp, withdraw his spear unexpectedly and stab up into the 'soft underbelly', inflicting the sort of wound that Tyrtæus describes, *10W.25*, quite deliberately in order to emphasize the shame of deserting an older

man. The passage is commented by K. at p.39, 'apparently a part of the body unprotected by body armor' — certainly so, as can be seen from any representation of a hoplite: even the later *πτέρω* would not protect against an upward stab. But the manoeuvre is dangerous, as it leaves the right side of the throat vulnerable, which is why Bowra was right when he somewhere speaks of 'what must have been a very unusual wound'.

What the hoplite has no need for is the throwing spear (see K. p.35, on Cal-
linus, where he seems to approve Webster's view that all references to throwing
spears are to the enemy, since he thinks the hoplite phalanx by then normal).
But, as K. appreciates, the throwing spear is the normal weapon of the Homeric
hero: this, for him, is because there are all *promachoi*, apparently members of a
'forward échelon', a 'company or battalion', and they emerge from the ranks to
engage in duels, or in individual combats after the ranks have broken: he be-
lieves that 'Homer deliberately paints these individual combats too large' (p.
16; for the *promachoi*, pp.25-6). 'The essential and final decisions in the *Iliad*
hinge on battles of masses' (p.30: it is true that the catalogue gives limits
of 144,000 and 60,000 for the Greek forces at Troy).

K.'s view is based on the work of J.Latacz, favourably reviewed by M.M.Will-
cock in *LCM* 2.10(Dec.1977), 241-2: he only differs from him and from Willcock in
failing to appreciate (in the Editor's view, expressed above) the distinctive
nature of the hoplite phalanx, and therefore supposing that Homer's phalanx was
no different from that of the 6th and 5th centuries. But like them (and again
unlike the Editor) his view of Homer is essentially unitarian, with only lip
service paid to the fact that 'doubtless many periods of warfare are represent-
ed in the *Iliad*, as students of armor inform us' (p.30).

'Book notes' are no place for the Editor to argue this in detail, in what
is already beginning to look more like a review, and he confines himself to two
brief points. 1). He finds no difficulty in supposing that the details of war-
fare shift from line to line, as phrases of different origin are combined, and
doubts whether the details were ever clear either in themselves or to any poet
or audience, who always interpreted what they heard in the light of their own
experience, just as 5th century vase painters illustrate Homer with hoplites.
2) Some of the references to fighting may therefore be to the real hoplite pha-
lanx. But in others the cohesion and equipment of the ranks should not be over-
emphasized. Hector's shining helmet suggests that most helmets were leather,
and General Hackett, in an amusing paper, compared the importance attached in
the poem to the spoiling and recovery of armour to that of tanks in the battles
of WW2: both were in short supply and expensive. The Homeric hero, then, like
the mediaeval knight in armour, may be seen as the economic equivalent of the
tank, and like the tank he dominates the battle-field, supported as need be by
his less-well-equipped war band (cf. the article on *ἐταῖρος* in *Melanges Dele-
becque*). There is, then, more to be said for Miss Lorimer's view of 'the loose
unorganized fighting of the Homeric field' (*Homer and the monuments* 462, quoted
by K. on p.28, who refers it only to the duels: the Editor, on checking that re-
ference, also discovered the source of his views, Miss Lorimer herself in the 40s
rather than her book: but they evidently need reaffirming) than K. is prepared
to concede.

Generalized analyses of the Homeric poems are, however, to be mistrusted,
as failing to take account of the way they were composed. Each particular pass-
age needs to be examined in detail, and the various elements in it assigned
each to the period of its origin.

The history of classical scholarship is becoming increasingly popular, per-
haps as a way of discovering what it is we are doing and how we are or ought to
be doing it, perhaps also, like a Tory Minister's speech, a coded way of criti-
cizing by implication some of the things we are now doing. Now the recently re-
tired Kennedy Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, a quondam 'col-
league', as Professor of Latin at Liverpool, of the Editor's (but properly a col-
league must be of equal and not superior status: is a praetor the *conlega* of a
consul?), has published, but not with the Cambridge University Press, *historical
reflections on Bentley, Porson and Housman*, but with chapters that fill the gaps
from the 15th century to the death of Housman (C.O.Brink, *English classical scho-
larship*, Cambridge [James Clarke & Co., Ltd] & New York [Oxford University Press]
1986, pp.x + 243, cloth £11.95, ISBN 0-227-67872-9 [UK] & 0-19-520504-9 [US]).

48 Sadly, he will not give us (overtly) more than the briefest and most general reflexions on the subject since WW2 (pp.197-8). We might call this, perhaps, the era of Syme, Momigliano and Fraenkel, none of them, any more than Brink himself, 'true-born native Englishmen'. Though B. never says so, this is for him an advantage in treating his subject, though it may have led him into his belief that 'the marked distinction between Oxford and Cambridge types of scholarship' (p. 198) has all but disappeared. The Editor, an Oxford man, thinks not: Cambridge still goes in for 'pure' or 'accurate' or 'verbal' scholarship (p.122), tempered, as readers of this year's *LCM* will know, by literary criticism, the modern equivalent of the belles-lettres exemplified for B. by Jebb (pp.145ff.), for others perhaps by Sir John Sheppard. What Oxford goes in for is perhaps not for the Editor to say: B. seems to think that it was (is?) education (p.129).

The hero of his book is Bentley: Porson is a falling away (but Porson was a Grecian, and it sometimes seems as though Latinists deny that scholarship is possible in Greek unless done by Latinists — it is sad that outside Oxford (and Cambridge?) there should be this almost hostility between the practitioners *utriusque linguae*: it has done, and still does, immense harm to our discipline), virtue returns with Housman.

The villain of the piece is Victorian scholarship, Victorian headmasters, prose and verse composition, and the educational use of classics ('education is one thing and high scholarship is another. Nobody who truly cares for either will easily mistake the one for the other. Confusion between the two would compromise educational and scholarly integrity alike. Advanced teaching in the universities will suffer accordingly and did so suffer in the Victorian age', p.149 — not much coding there!). The Editor reverts to the subject of his earlier notes and leaves assessment of the book to the (non-English) reviewer to whom he has entrusted it. Let him only try to straddle both camps. Unless it is a form of intellectual training, the purpose of 'pure' scholarship must be to enable us to understand what the texts mean: that once done, we must try and discover what they were trying to do, and we must not shrink from evaluating them (some are better than others and, as Robert Graves said 'Any honest housewife could sort them out, | Having a nose for fish, an eye for apples.' [*Collected Poems* 1975, p.89: but it was Graves who was told, at the end of his first term at Oxford after WWI, that his essays were 'a trifle temperamental. It appears, indeed, that you prefer some authors to others', *Goodbye to all that*, 1929, p.362]) and assessing their importance and use to readers today. Not, however, using them in the service of a fashion or a sectarian dogma, rather respecting them.

In this context he much approves B.Rawson, ed., *The family in ancient Rome*, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1986, cloth £18.95, ISBN 0-7099-4202-8, a series of essays almost entirely factual and not disfigured, as are so many books on the topic, by feminist dogmas. Dogmatic, on the other hand (how not?) is *Cruce* (P.A.Cartledge & F.D.Harvey, edd., *Cruce. Essays in Greek History presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th birthday*, London, Duckworth in association with Imprint Academic, 1985, pp.xx + 380, ISBN 0-7156-2092-4), which has appeared almost simultaneously under two imprints (first as *History of Political Thought* 6.1/2 [1985], Exeter). The Editor has dutifully skimmed all the essays, rarely finding himself compelled to do more. He was impressed by Peter Garnsey, 'Grain for Athens', 62-75, though he worries about the status of 'estimates', and, in a different way, by Paul Cartledge's unashamedly Marxist and oddly titled 'Rebels and Sambos in classical Greece: a comparative view', 16-46. In the context 'Sambos' is not easily recognized as the plural of 'Sambo' ([a.Sp. *zambo*, perh. identical with *zambo* bandy-legged] *SOED*: the Editor had thought of 'Sam[uel] bo[dy]': the word is first attested in 1748), and will be read as 'Sambos' (*fort. leg. 'Samos'*). What is nice is the photograph, the Editors' preface, and the *Foreword* by P.A.Brunet. However, the Editor will leave professional judgement to a professional, for though once (and hopefully to be again) an early Roman historian and a sceptical one at that, the sort of history practised by contributors to *Cruce* is not, and never was, his sort of history: and perhaps the contributions suffer a little from the defects of much commissioned work, and lack spontaneity and enthusiasm.

The former at least, together with prolixity, not lacking from these *Book notes*, the prompt appearance of which may gratify at least the publishers. But the Editor would like to know whether readers would wish them to continue as a regular or as an occasional feature in *LCM*.